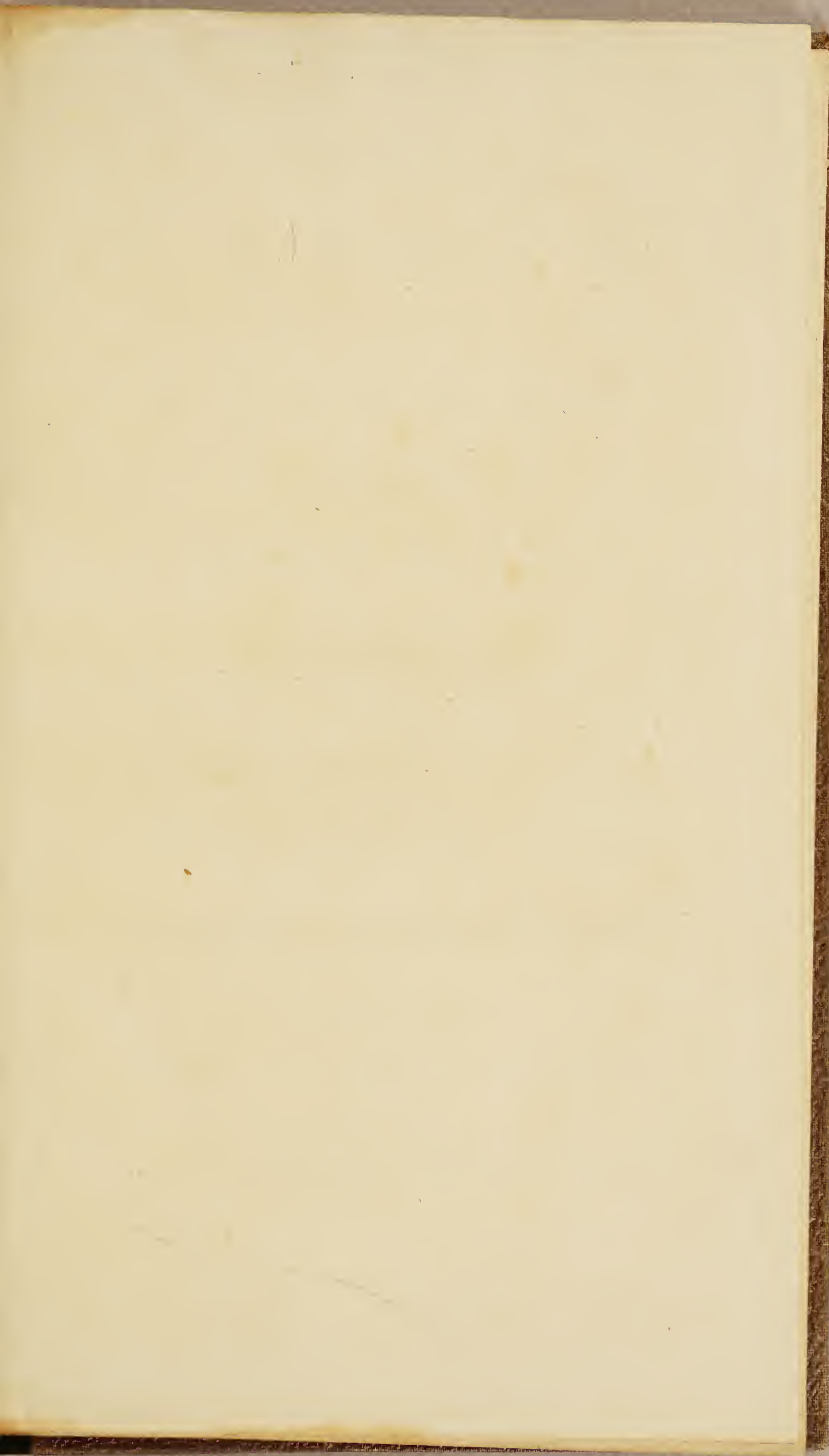


John Carter Brown.



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THE
 C R I S I S.
 OR, A FULL
 D E F E N C E
 OF THE
 C O L O N I E S.

IN WHICH

It is incontestibly proved that the British Constitution has been flagrantly violated in the late Stamp Act, and rendered indisputably evident, that the Mother Country cannot lay any arbitrary Tax upon the Americans, without destroying the essence of her own liberties.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. GRIFFIN, in Catharine-Street.

M D C C L X V I .

[Price One Shilling.]

THE
CRISIS
OF THE
GOLDEN AGE

By
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LONDON:
[Faint text]
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JOHN CARTER BROWN

T H E
C R I S I S.

THE diffensions at present unhappily subsisting between the kingdom of Great Britain and its Colonies, on account of the Stamp-Act, are so very much the subjects of conversation, and are besides, of a nature so extreamly alarming as to render almost every thing which can be said on the affair, at least entertaining, if not actually important, for which reason I shall make but little apology for presuming to trouble the public with my sentiments on this occasion, especially as I can never be so dull as to want a tolerable number of brother politicians to keep me in countenance.

The main argument which the enemies of the Colonies make use of to justify the act of parliament in dispute, is that the
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British legislature has an undoubted right of establishing whatever ordinances it may think proper for the regulation of all the British dominions; and that it is an absolute rebellion against the authority of the Mother Country, for any part of those dominions to refuse an implicit obedience to such ordinances.---To this the Americans reply, that as they are utterly unrepresented in the parliament of the Mother Country, a doctrine of this kind must inevitably rob them of the most valuable rights which they ought to possess, as Englishmen, and reduce them in an instant, from a nation of Free-born Subjects, to a set of the most miserable slaves.---Such is the state of the present question.--To discuss it with candour, therefore, shall be the attempt of the following pages, in which the author flatters himself with a hope of manifesting a laudable intention, however he may expose himself to censure, for his vanity on meddling with a debate which requires so considerable a share of abilities.

That the Mother Country has a *power* of imposing what burdens she thinks proper, on any part of her dominions, is a position so evident, that it cannot possibly admit of a debate.---While she possesses a *force* capable of exacting an obedience to her laws, she must naturally possess a *power* of enacting whatever may be most agreeable to her
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inclination.---But it does not follow, because she is invested with a *power*, that she is invested with a *right* of exercising every arbitrary impulse of her whimsy, or caprice: nothing can give a *right* which is repugnant to the principles of *equity* and *reason*; and therefore, if this *power*, which the Mother Country so frequently boasts of, is ever exerted in opposition to the sentiments of justice, she deviates from a tender parent, into a tyrannical mistress, and becomes the most formidable enemy, where she ought to have continued the most inflexible friend.

By the fundamental laws of the British constitution, it is absolutely declared, that no Englishman is to be taxed without his own consent.---Now, if we allow the people of America, the rights of Englishmen, it must naturally follow that the Stamp Act, is, to the last degree, inequitable, and that even the constitution of the Mother Country itself, was flagrantly violated, to lay an arbitrary burden upon the unfortunate Colonies.---I know very well, I shall be told, that though the Americans were not *immediately* represented in the English Parliament, they were, nevertheless, represented *virtually*, and therefore can have no actual foundation for complaint.

The gentlemen, however, who have kindly informed us that the Americans were thus *virtually* represented, though they dwell very strongly upon that argument, have not as yet, been so obliging as to shew by what method this *virtual* representation can possibly exist. In fact, they have only made use of a word without annexing any definitive idea to it; and because they themselves are satisfied with the force of so sensible a plea, they imagined that it must necessarily carry conviction to the mind of every body else. --- Unhappily for the cause of such extraordinary casuists, there are people in the world who require something more than mere assertion, when they discourse upon matters of importance; there are numbers who will not accept of any man's mere *ipse dixit*, where a fact ought to be clearly proved; and I trust, these numbers are so great as to compose a very considerable majority of the whole kingdom. --- But, notwithstanding, I entertain this opinion of the sense and candour of the public, still, as I believe there are many who have implicitly credited this extraordinary principle of *virtual* representation, it may be necessary to discuss this point a little, to try how far it can be admitted with propriety.

The only shadow of a ground to support this pretty position, is, that the British
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Parliament, is the *virtual* representative of all the British empire.---If this be the case now, it must always have been the case; and the Mother Country had as good a right to claim it from the first hour it possessed a single foot of ultra marine territory, as to date her pretensions entirely from the never-to-be forgotten period of Mr. Grenville's administration.---But why in the name of Common Sense, if the Mother Country judged herself the *virtual* representative of all her various dependencies, did she not exert her *virtual* representation a little earlier? Why did she grant a provincial legislature to her Colonies, and from the time of their first existence, invest this legislature with the sole power of internal taxation?---If she meant to grant them a legislative power, and yet intended to render this legislative power of no consequence, 'tis the Mother Country herself, who has been the occasion of all the disturbances which have lately happened, and 'tis the poor Americans, in fact, who have the only cause of exclamation, notwithstanding the numberless invectives which have been so unremittingly poured upon them by the ignorant, or the interested writers of this kingdom.

For the honour of the Mother Country, however, I cannot suppose that she once meant to play so ridiculous a farce, as to
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give her Colonies the shadow of a legislative power, without intending that they should possess the substance too. A supposition of that kind, would be an equal impeachment both of her justice and her humanity; it would be an argument that she absolutely designed to lead the Colonies into an error, for the cruel satisfaction of condemning, the moment they unhappily fell into any mistake.---It would, in short, be an inference, that, for the mere sake of distressing them, she was willing to involve herself in the greatest difficulties, and so she could sacrifice their happiness, she was resolved to manifest no consideration whatever for her own.

But so far was this from being the case, that we need only recur to the mode of government invariably preserved in the Colonies, from the time of their first establishment, to the time of passing the Stamp Bill into a law. During that whole period, the Mother Country, so far from dreaming about the *virtual* representation of her Colonies in the British Parliament, continually applied to the assemblies of the various provinces, whenever she wanted their assistance; and, agreeable to the legislative capacity with which she herself had invested these assemblies, she permitted them, in the most public and unlimited manner, to debate upon the propriety of
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her request. If she thought this conduct necessary for so very long a space, whence comes it that she now thinks herself entitled to a discretionary right of loading them with whatever burdens she thinks proper? The Colonies have full as just a claim to the constitutional rights of Englishmen now, as they could possibly shew at their original establishment; and the Mother Country is as much bound by the principles of equity at the present moment, as when she first solicited adventurers to people those Colonies, and granted particular privileges to all who had courage enough to make an emigration from their native country. Certainly every minister, before Mr. Grenville, must have been inconceivably ignorant of the Mother Country's rights, to allow the Americans a provincial legislation for such a number of years, if they were *virtually* represented in the British Parliament: or Mr. Grenville must inevitably possess a greater share of genius than any of his predecessors, to make so important and unexpected a discovery.---Yet, before Mr. Grenville's time, there have been both very daring, and very wise statesmen at the helm of government. There has been a WALPOLE, with a boundless ambition; and there has been a PITT, with an astonishing ability; yet the first never presumed to say, that a member returned for the county of Middlesex, was
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the legal representative of a man residing in New York.---Nor did it ever once enter into the imagination of the last, even in the most pressing exigencies of the late war, that the people of Great-Britain could lay a taxation on the Americans, whenever they were disinclined to bear any share of the national burdens themselves. Let us only consider to what a state the whole continent of America must be reduced, where such a doctrine is admitted to be either reasonable or just. If the Mother Country has a right, in any one instance, to impose an arbitrary law, she has a right to be despotic in every instance; and with the same propriety that she inequitably forces the Colonies to bear the minutest part of her burdens, she may oblige them to groan under the weight of the whole. If, therefore, the violation which she has committed on the principles of the British constitutions in the imposition of the Stamp Act, be silently submitted to, she may, to-morrow or next day, lay another duty on the miserable Americans, and go on in the same road to exonerate herself, 'till she has reduced them to the lowest state of wretchedness, and driven them to seek an habitation with the more merciful savages of the interior wilds, whom a casual spark of nature has frequently opened into humanity, and taught an involuntary sympathy

thy for the cries of distress.---It is on this account, that the Colonies think themselves obliged to stand up in defence of their constitutional rights as Britons, and in support of their natural privileges as men. The present law, severe as it may be in its formation, is still infinitely more dangerous, when set up as a precedent, than when we consider it merely as a tax; and, injurious as it may be in itself to the people of America, the manner of enacting it, is what principally fills them with apprehension: the generality of mankind, highly as they parade about justice and benevolence, are nevertheless entirely guided by the dictates of interest, and there are but few of us, if a burden is to be borne, but what would rather throw it wholly upon the shoulders of our neighbours, than generously offer to take any part of it upon our own.---The same principle operates as forcibly in the conduct of communities and kingdoms, as it works in the humbler occurrences of private men.---It is reasonable enough, therefore, to suppose, if the Mother Country is once allowed a right of taxing the Americans, without their consent, that the first act of oppression, will by no means be the last: when she has found the advantages of one injustice, she will be easily tempted to a second; and, in the long run, the unfortunate Colonies, however they may

value themselves upon their public freedom, or rejoice in their personal property, will be found without any freedom or property at all.---A man, indeed, may rise in the morning, and suppose himself worth twenty thousand pounds, but in the afternoon, it is probable an express will arrive, informing him, that about a month before, an act of parliament was passed in England, which sequestered one half, or, perhaps, the whole of his fortune.---In such a situation, what is he to do?---Perhaps, an hour before the receipt of this melancholy intelligence, he was fixing a provision for the happiness of his children---devising a plan for the advancement of his relations---or considering in what manner he could be serviceable to his friends. In a single moment, all the flattering hopes which blossom'd so engagingly on his imagination, are entirely blasted; and, so far from being able to administer to the necessities of others, he wants the tender hand of benevolence to mitigate his own. But where is he to seek for relief, when the most wealthy are sunk beneath the griping hand of penury; and the most munificent are pining in all the bitterness of want!---A picture of this nature, harrows up the bosom of sensibility, and the eye of compassion is incapable of viewing it for tears. Yet who will say, that I have exceeded the bounds of probability in
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the colouring? The same arbitrary minister, as I have repeatedly insisted, who seizes the minutest part of my property, without my consent, will scarcely hesitate, when his rapacity is tempted with a considerable bait; and if I lie at the mercy of a man, who has robbed me of a single shilling, I have but too much occasion to tremble for the safety of my all.

But to give the advocates for *virtual* representation the fullest scope of their arguments---Let us even suppose the case to be as they state it themselves, and that the Americans are *virtually* represented in the British parliament; yet, notwithstanding this *virtual* representation, if they had a petition to lay before that august assembly to-morrow, to which of the members must they apply to get it carried into the house? ---Was a deputation to wait even upon Mr. Grenville himself, and to say, “Sir, we
“are a committee of New York Mer-
“chants, who are desired by the rest of our
“*Brother Freemen* in that province, to re-
“quest that you will lay this petition before
“the house.” Would it not be, at least, ten to one; but what that gentleman would turn about, with an equal share of indignation and surprize, and tell them, that he was never at New York in all his days, and was representative, at that time, for no place but the borough of Buckingham? Yet surely, if

the Americans were *virtually* represented, he himself must be one of their *virtual* representatives, and must be highly *deficient* in his duty, if he refused an immediate compliance with so reasonable a solicitation.---But see how principles fluctuate with times.---Notwithstanding the Colonies have this winter found a great number of *virtual* representatives, yet when the Stamp Bill was in agitation, not a single soul would present a petition from the poor Americans; though several of the provinces, in the humblest terms, begged leave to set forth both the iniquity and the impracticability of ever carrying such a law into execution.---So far from being attended to by the minister, their agents were dismissed with all the little-minded insolence of office, and they underwent the double mortification of seeing their remonstrances utterly disregarded, and their *actual* representatives treated with the most insuperable contempt.---Indeed, the creatures of the minister, to palliate so unpardonable a conduct, endeavoured every where to insinuate, that the American petitions were drawn up with a most culpable indecency, both of language and sentiment, and used every artifice to have it generally believed, that they were rejected entirely upon that account. But is it to be supposed that any set of men endued with a dawn of common

mon understanding, could so far forget every principle both of decency and sense, as to insult so against a body as the House of Commons; and this at the very moment that they were soliciting a favour at its hands.---Much less can it be supposed, that the principal persons of our colonies, who are in general gentlemen of the most liberal educations, and not more remarkable for their good sense than eminent for their politeness, should be deficient in a proper respect for that illustrious assembly. For my own part, if I may presume either to have any credit with the reader, or to know any thing about decency, I have seen some of these petitions, in particular that of New York, and will take upon me to say, it was as sensible, and at the same time as respectful a composition, as I ever remember to have seen drawn up for parliament.

There is, however, little occasion to enter into any defence of the American petitions, because it is too likely that, had there been an exceptionable syllable contained in any one of them, the enemies of the Colonies would have used it as an argument in their disfavour; and a very strong one it would have been considered, I dare say, by the whole kingdom.---It would have furnished an extensive field to expatiate on the insolence and disaffection of the Americans, and supported, in some degree,
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the necessity of the measures which the minister was at that time taking to render their assemblies a meeting of so many cyphers, and themselves so many provinces of slaves.---But as this use was not made of their petitions, we may naturally suppose that they were all drawn up with a circumspection which prevented the most distant possibility of finding fault.

When this little anecdote relative to the American petitions is mentioned, with what degree of justice can it be said, that the Colonies are *virtually* represented in the British parliament? To have this *virtual* representation, their petitions should, upon all occasions, be received, and their complaints should be as readily heard as the complaints of their other fellow-subjects.---But if there is nobody to whom they have an immediate right of application, if there is nobody who is particularly obliged to represent their grievances before the great council of their Mother Country; and if they themselves are not to be heard when there is nobody else to speak for them, must it not be the grossest contradiction in terms to talk of a *virtual* representation?---In fact, this doctrine is perfectly of a piece with the proceedings of the late minister.---He violated every principle of common justice when he first passed the law, and now he violates every principle of common understanding

derstanding to support the rectitude of his behaviour.

The advocates for the Stamp Act, whenever they are closely pushed on the subject of *virtual* representation, run constantly to a despicable subterfuge, where they idly imagine there is no possibility of sustaining any violent attack.---In the first place, they tell us that, notwithstanding the mighty complaints of the Americans about the want of representation, they are as much represented in the British parliament, as either Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds or Sheffield; who, nevertheless, never murmur at wanting immediate members, but dutifully submit themselves to the determinations of the British legislature, from a proper and respectful confidence in its wisdom and justice.

The gentlemen who reason in this manner do not, however, reflect, though Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Sheffield, have no immediate voices, as corporations, to return members solely for themselves, that yet they have a voice in the general representation of their respective counties; and have a right to instruct, and call upon their several knights, to lay their grievances before the parliament; this is so evident a circumstance, that there is no necessity of enforcing it: and I believe, that was any one of the knights who represent
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these places to refuse a compliance with the duties of his office, they would of themselves be considerable enough to prevent his ever being re-elected on a future vacancy. But let the *virtual* representatives of America refuse never so often to lay the petitions of the Colonies before the august council of the Mother Country; and let them violate the constitution of the Provinces never so much, the poor Americans have no voice at a general election to oppose their return into parliament.---Of consequence, therefore, as the inhabitants of Birmingham and the other towns have voices to choose the man who is worthy of their confidence; and voices to oppose the person who is not, it must be ignorance itself to suppose a similarity of circumstances between them and the miserable Colonies, who are so unhappily destitute of both.

But even admitting that Birmingham and the other towns were actually without representatives, in the strictest sense of the expression, would that be a proper argument for taxing the Colonies without their own consent? Would it be a necessary consequence, because part of the British subjects were unfortunate enough to be in a state of slavery, that a yoke should be laid on the necks of the Americans? On the contrary, instead of making the miseries of the wretched a plea for plunging the happy
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in distress, common humanity should teach a good minister to allow the former every advantage which was possessed by the latter; especially, too, where the exercise of such a benevolence could not, in the nature of things, but be highly beneficial to his country.

Having thus, as I hope, refuted one part of the subterfuge which the enemies of America make use of to prejudice the minds of the public; I now come to the other, which is so very contemptible as scarce to deserve a notice, was it not, upon this occasion, much better to be even tediously circumstantial, than to suffer the possibility of any worthy individual's labouring under a mistake.---It has been urged as an excuse for denying the American petitions a hearing in an august assembly, that no petitions were ever suffered to be read, which were known to be against the passing of a Money Bill.---I am almost ashamed to tell a reader of the least intelligence, that this position is notoriously false: I am almost afraid he will think it an insult to his understanding, if I should observe, that such a position would destroy the very essence of parliaments.---However, to silence it at once, I shall only remark, that when the late Cyder Bill was in agitation, the City of London, and several other Corporations, petitioned against its being passed into a law.---

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Their petitions were received with the greatest complacency, though they were not attended with success; and their right of petitioning was never once questioned, though the illustrious assemblies to whom they applied did not judge it then expedient to comply with their requests.

From what has been advanced in the foregoing pages, relative to the doctrine of *virtual* representation; and from what has been just now observed concerning the similar situations of Birmingham and the Colonies in this respect; I am induced to imagine, that every sensible enquirer will allow, that the American Stamp Act is a very dangerous stretch of power, and has absolutely stripped at least three millions of our fellow subjects of every benefit which, as Englishmen, they were entitled to from the British constitution.---What the Americans have done to deserve so cruel a treatment, I cannot by any means find out.---Indeed, had they aimed to throw off their allegiance to the Mother Country; or had they, in the day of necessity, shewn the least tardiness to exert themselves in our interest, some excuse might possibly be found for taking away their rights, and laying them entirely at the mercy of this kingdom.---But when, so far from aiming at an improper independence, they quietly submitted

submitted to restrictions on their commerce which plunged them into insuperable difficulties; and when, so far from standing aloof in the day of necessity, they even greatly exceeded their abilities to assist us against the common enemy; it must be confessed that the *time* for making this stretch of power was as injudicious, as the stretch itself was unjust; and that, consequently, the minister by whom it was occasioned, drew an equal impeachment upon his humanity and his understanding.

The tools of the minister, 'tis true, have advanced a number of assertions in diametrical opposition to this character of the Americans, and have spared no pains to establish an opinion, that, unless we proceeded to extremities with them, and took away their provincial legislation at once, there was no security for their obedience to the Mother Country. “The Colonies (say these conscientious casuists) are now extremely populous, and extremely rich; they are every day rising in numbers, and in wealth, and must, in the nature of things, aspire at a total independence; unless we are before-hand with them, and wisely take the power out of their hands.”---This language is very extraordinary, yet it is very common, and may be heard in every coffee-house within the Weekly Bills, from the lips of the ignorant

or the interested.---But will any man of sense, after the incredible profusion of blood and treasure which we have been at to establish the Colonies, take upon him to say, that their prosperity can possibly be dangerous to the Mother Country? Have we been labouring to make them numerous and opulent by every means in our power, and shall it now be said that their number and opulence are circumstances of a most alarming nature to this kingdom? For my own part, if we were not remarkable for a glorious inconsistency of conduct, I should wonder how sentiments of so ridiculous a cast, could ever be seriously propagated among us.---Sentiments so inconceivably preposterous, that even Stupidity itself can scarcely justify an attention to them; since a man must be in an absolute state of lunacy, upon whom they can have the minutest effect.

The Colonies are, indeed, every day increasing in their numbers, and, 'till the late injudicious restrictions upon their commerce, were every day rising in their prosperity too; their number is now, at a moderate calculation, supposed to be three millions of whites, and every five and twenty years, they are reckoned to double their population;---yet, instead of three million, was their number fifty, the Mother Country would have but little to dread on that account.

count. As long as we prevent them from building ships, and levying forces; as long as we take care that they have neither a marine, nor a standing army;---so long their numbers must add to our strength, without promoting their independence; and a single Squadron from the Mother Country, will at any time be able to tumble all their cities about their ears, without the loss of so much as a twenty gun frigate to herself. An undisciplin'd multitude, let that multitude be never so great, without arms, without ships, and without fortifications, is but a very impotent enemy: numbers are of service only where they know how to be formidable, but can never appear of any consequence, where they have neither the knowledge of being so, nor the means.

But let us even admit the ability of the Americans to shake off their dependance on the Mother country, can we, from the general tenor of their conduct, by any means suppose they should ever be possessed of the inclination, unless we drive them desperate by proceeding to extremities? During the last war, when their own opulence, and our necessities, furnished them with a fairer opportunity than what they are ever likely to enjoy again, of becoming absolutely independent, what injury did we sustain, from suffering them to possess the natural rights of free-born Englishmen? Did they not
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expose their lives continually in our service: and did they not exhaust their treasures so much beyond the most sanguine expectations of the Mother Country, that the Parliament of Great-Britain even voted a very large sum to reimburse so extraordinary an exertion of their munificence! If, therefore, it is against the principles of the British constitution, to take away the provincial legislation of the Colonies at all; and if, when they possessed it, they so generously exceeded the wishes of Great-Britain in taxing themselves, we in fact lose the hackney'd plea of necessity, to palliate the tyranny of our conduct, and stand no less chargeable with the guilt of ingratitude, than with the crime of injustice. Posterity, surely, must be astonished to find, at the very moment we were rewarding the Americans for such incontestible proofs of their affection, that we were at the same time taking away their liberties, from a doubt of their fidelity: and it must appear amazing to all future generations to hear, that at the very instant we expressed the greatest sensibility for their attachment, we punish'd them with the greatest cruelty, and accompanied the strongest testimonies of friendship with the most intolerable chains.

The opposition made by the Americans to the execution of the Stamp Act, I am very well persuaded, has given their ene-
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mies no little opportunities of poisoning the public mind ; and many well-meaning people are ready enough to believe, that, let the Stamp Act be never so inequitable, it is now the business of the Mother-Country to support it, as the only means of securing her authority. This argument, however popular, is very far from being defensible. The Colonies never disputed the *just* authority of the Mother Country ; they have only opposed the tyranny of an injudicious minister. In reality, if the case be fully examined, the Mother Country has been as much injured on this occasion, as the Colonies. *Her* constitution, which positively declares, that *no Englishman* shall be taxed, *without the common consent of Parliament*, has been violated, to oppress three millions of her most useful and affectionate children. Who knows what might have been preparing, had the minister, who thus daringly trampled upon that constitution, still continued in authority. The same boldness which induced him to lay an arbitrary tax upon the Americans, might have led him at last to lay an arbitrary tax upon Ireland, then upon the Mother Country ; and the people of Great-Britain, from an idle supposition that their honour was called in question, where any illegal act of his was disputed, might have been insensibly brought
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to labour for the total destruction of themselves.

I lay it down as a fixed position, that in passing the Stamp Act, the people of this country, had no intention whatsoever, to make the smallest infringement on the rights of their American fellow subjects. I take it for granted, that the Colonists were considered in every sense of the word, as Englishmen, and as such, having their *own* internal legislations, that they could not be taxed but by their own consent.---If this be the case, how can it with propriety be said, that the Colonies have resisted the *just* authority of the Mother Country. The Mother Country had no *just* authority to make an arbitrary law for the taxation of their property. --- They have, therefore, only stood up for the legal right of Britons; and as I said in another place, the natural right of men.---And shall we, a nation fraught with the most exalted ideas of liberty, be offended with our brethren and our children, for standing up in defence of that freedom for which we all would die so willingly ourselves? Shall it in Great Britain, be ever thought a crime to support the independence of the British Constitution? God forbid. --- Every subject of the English crown, is entitled to the privileges of an Englishman,---and 'tis the peculiar glory of these privileges, that they cannot suffer the meanest

meanest individual to be enslaved---Instead, therefore, of condemning the Colonies, our indignation should fall upon the head of that man who has so violently broke in upon their peace, and so arrogantly called upon us to maintain the infringement of our own Constitution.---His temerity in supposing that the Mother Country would become a dupe of his machinations, and imagine that her honour was connected with the proceedings of a minister whom she looks upon with the utmost contempt, is the highest aggravation of his conduct, and calls aloud for some exemplary mark of public resentment.---In a few years, should it be now allowed, that Great Britain is obliged, in defence of her authority, to support every act of a weak or wicked, administration; whoever is at the helm, may, at any time, embroil the whole British empire; and if he be a pensioner of France, may entirely lay it in flames.---He need only pass some very injurious law, to occasion a murmur in the Colonies---and the moment it is complained of; by telling the Mother Country that her authority is insulted, he is sure of carrying his point.--The Mother Country, from a groundless concern about her own supremacy, will instantly rise up in defence of his injustice, and carry slaughter and desolation among
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her miserable offspring, when she ought to punish their merciless oppressor, and favour them with an immediate redress.

It must be granted, indeed, that in the opposition which the Americans have made to the Stamp Act, some tumults arose which our candour may extenuate, though our justice cannot appear with any great reputation in their defence.---Licentiousness, in cases of much importance, will always be found in a free constitution.---The Mother Country herself, has had her mobs---and no later than last winter, a whole army of the populace, in a manner, besieged both the august Houses of Parliament.---As therefore, we on this side of the Atlantic, have been frequently subject to popular insurrections, we cannot be surprized at hearing of the same insurrections in the Colonies; more particular too, when we consider, that from nature and education, they are, if possible, more strenuous lovers of liberty than ourselves.---Their ancestors, for the most part, were people who underwent a voluntary banishment from their native countries, on civil and religious accounts.---These ancestors have handed down their principles to posterity, in consequence of which, nine tenths, at least, of the whole Continent, are Whigs in the most expressive sense, and impatient of a course, where they imagine their freedom

is at stake.---Add to all this, that the Stamp Act was passed at a time when the restrictions on the North American trade had universally soured the dispositions of the people: smarting under the severity of a commercial prohibition, the most constitutional tax would have been thought a hardship, and it might, perhaps, have been a general murmur, that we were unremittingly studious to encrease their burdens in proportion as we contracted their means.

As in the course of the foregoing arguments, I have shewn that the people of America are not *virtually* represented in the British Parliament; and made it pretty clear, that as Englishmen, they ought not to be internally taxed, but by their own consent. It may, possibly, be demanded, where I am willing to strike a line, and what degree of executive authority I am willing to allow the Mother Country over her Colonies? If we go back to the original end of colonization, we shall find that the sole design of establishing Colonies in different parts of the world, was to extend the commerce of the British nation, as wide as possible, and not by any means, an intention either to discharge the subject from his allegiance, or to strip him of his natural privileges as an Englishman.---Of course, the power of the sovereign should be the same in the Colonies, as in the Mother Country;
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and the Mother Country, as the great parent of all, should possess an indisputable right of making such commercial laws as may be judged necessary for the common good: she should also be invested with a just power of restraining any measures which would be prejudicial to her own interest; and in every case, the ballance of emolument should be in her favour, as the grand source from which the Colonies drew their existence and prosperity.

But in all cases where the Americans are either to be assessed in their properties, or interested in their lives, they have an unalterable claim, as Englishmen, to raise their own taxes, and to make laws for themselves. 'Tis for this purpose we have granted them a provincial legislation. 'Tis from a conviction of their being justly entitled to this legislation, that whenever we have wanted their assistance, we have regularly sent orders to our respective governors to apply, in a constitutional manner, to their assemblies; and called upon them as freemen for their portion of the public supplies.--- That we had no reason to complain of this conduct, I have more than once observed, in the course of this discussion.---So far from being tardy to furnish their quota, when applied to, they have exceeded their ability, and 'tis not many sessions since the Parliament of the Mother Country itself, with a
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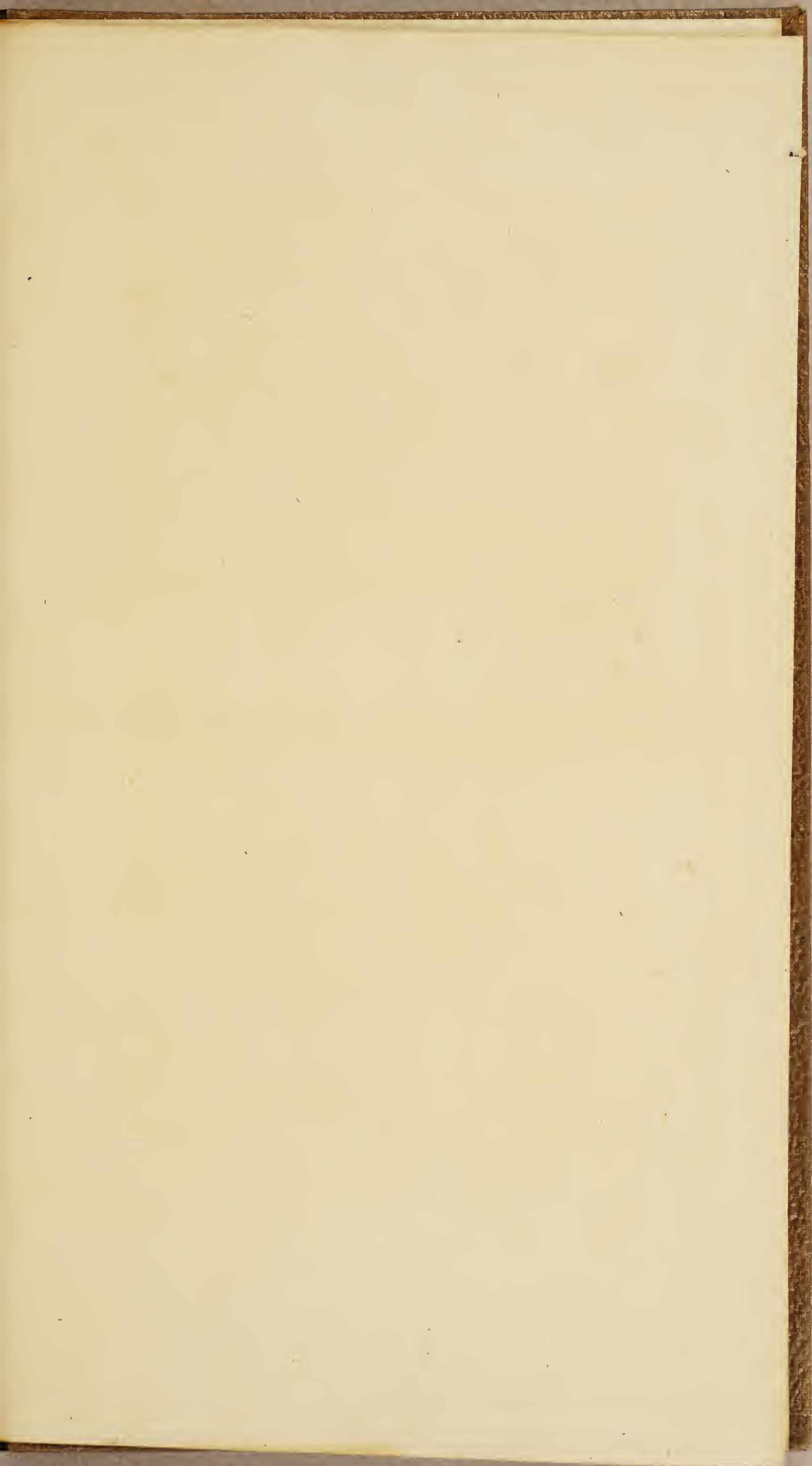
liberality highly worthy of that illustrious assembly, voted them a very large sum of money to reimburse the extraordinary aids which they granted for the benefit of the kingdom.

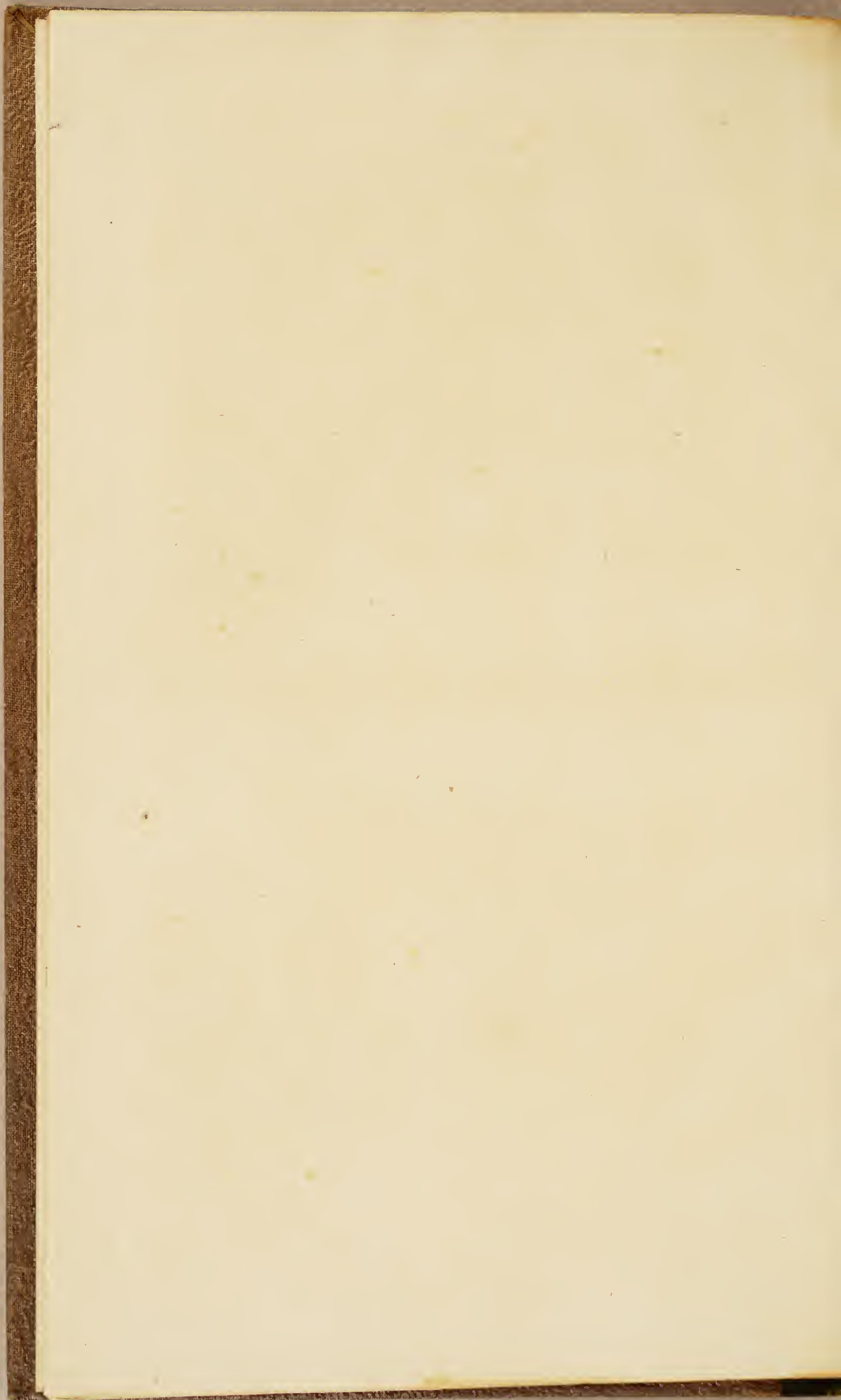
Upon the whole, however, if the Colonies are *virtually* represented in the Mother Country, they must be represented by the entire body of the British Parliament, and not by any one branch. In all cases, where money is raised, (if I may be allowed the use of the word, as well as the enemies of America) there is but one branch of the legislative power, which has any *virtual* authority, and this is the House of Commons. When a money bill is sent up, the Commons, we know, are so justly tenacious of their privileges, that they will not allow the alteration of a tittle. Of course, therefore, though the Stamp Act has passed the three regular estates of Parliament, it is but the *virtual* deed of one. What I would deduce from this remark is, that if the word *virtual* representation be at all admitted, the word *virtual authority* must also be allowed; and in every taxation, the poor Americans, instead of having a house of lords, or a sovereign, must be at the immediate mercy of the English commonalty, whose particular interest it is to exonerate themselves, by throwing every possible load on the Colonies. What a melancholy situation

ation must this be, where the persons *virtually* represented, are to bear the burden of those, who are *actually* represented; and where the people who have not a shadow of power, are to be equally subject with those who possess it all!

I have now delivered my sentiments on this important subject. Should they happily be productive of any good consequences, my end will be perfectly answered; as I desire nothing more than to vindicate the general rights of the English constitution, without any interested views, or national partialities.

F I N I S





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